Human Events YOUR WASHINGTON SERVICE

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**The Colonel Spoke:** One military man certainly was "un-muzzled" last week when he addressed a joint session of Congress after his successful flight into space. So, at least, agreed legislators as they analyzed the historic speech of Colonel John H. Glenn.

As usual this conclusion did not go unchallenged. Privately, some staff experts who have studied the "muzzled military speeches" in the Stennis probe claimed they perceived evidence of State Department blue-pencil work. But this assertion is not as yet supported by any positive proof.

What may have occurred—it is suggested—was that Glenn's speech was reviewed by superiors, but its genuine native message emerged so forcefully that censors dared not risk disturbing it, and wisely so.

The greatest demonstrations of applause were clearly inspired by two passages:

(1) Glenn successfully defied the Administration's disapproval of "flag-waving." Confessing he was happy that "pride in our country and its accomplishments is not a thing of the past," he went on to say: "I know I still get a real hard-to-define feeling down inside when the flag goes by—and I know all of you do, too. As we rode up Pennsylvania Avenue today from the White House and saw this tremendous outpouring of feeling on the part of so many thousands of people, I got the same feeling all over again. And let's hope that none of us ever loses it." Thus came the adequate retort to Senator Fulbright who, as said on Capitol Hill, "keeps seeing patriots under every bed."

(2) Glenn then took an obvious, although indirect, "swipe" at the Soviet Union's censorship of the details of their space flights. Legislators gave this remark perhaps the biggest round of applause. Some contrasted the native combativeness of the young officer to the Administration's current "speak softly about the enemy" policy.

Capitol Hill being what it is—steeped in political considerations—it was surprising how little politics intruded on this noble scene. True, John Bailey, National Chairman of the Democratic Party, crudely tried to pin blame on the Eisenhower Administration for delay in reaching the Glenn success. But he was promptly slapped down by Senator Bourke Hickenlooper (R.-Iowa).

The new head of the GOP Senate Policy Committee detailed the huge missile buildup started by Ike and his creation of the astronaut team three years ago, thus setting the record straight by pinning the responsibility for the delay on the Truman regime.

Significantly, however, no claim was heard from Democrats that Glenn was a member of their political faith. For their part, highly placed Republicans privately remarked that they knew Glenn was a Republican from an old Republican family in a semi-rural district in Ohio, long overwhelmingly a preserve of the GOP. Recalled, also, was that astronaut Alan B. Shepard came from a similar political background in his native New Hampshire. "Their personalities are typical of grass-roots Republicans," observed one GOP'er.

**Bobby Abroad:** In the wake of Attorney General Robert Kennedy's tour in Europe comes a piece of intelligence likely to startle even those on Capitol Hill who had thought they had "heard everything" about this ambulant brother of the President. It is this: Some among Bobby's traveling entourage have found it possible to drop the word to members of the foreign press that their chief is slated to become Secretary of State, succeeding Dean Rusk, after the November elections. This word was passed with a studied casualness that impressed the foreign chancelleries of the nations visited.

HUMAN EVENTS correspondents in West Germany said the reaction did not appear exactly favorable. For one thing, the West German diplomats have come to look on what the Germans regard as a helter-skelter and irresponsible JFK foreign policy.

*For another, while Berlin crowds applauded Bobby's promise to defend Berlin, leaders of the Adenauer regime discount the promise as "oratory" and prefer to dwell gravely on the problem of worsening German-American relations.*

A few days after Bobby reportedly "made a hit" with the Berlin crowds, the well-informed correspondent of the Baltimore *Sun* reported a "growing dismay" in official West German quarters over the "fretful" recent relations between Bonn and Washington. As reported in these columns in recent issues, the free Germans fear that all the current talk of a summit conference portends an Anglo-American sell-out of West Germany to Soviet Russia.

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**Another Bay of Pigs?** The United States may find itself in a quicksand operation in South Vietnam if the Kennedy Administration doesn't reverse its present policies there. This is the warning uttered by prominent Vietnamese who recently arrived in Washington from Asia.

Despite the stepped-up US operations, these Vietnamese say the Korean "stalemate" philosophy still prevails in the Kennedy Administration, inviting catastrophe for the free world throughout the entire Asian area.

They are also particularly alarmed at statements by such high policy makers as Walt Whitman Rostow, head of the State Department's Policy Planning Council. Rostow last week said that the danger of Vietnam is "internal." He emphasized only defensive, not offensive, measures that could be taken against the Reds, and particularly stressed that "constructive tasks of development" (i. e., economic "reforms") were a chief weapon with which South Vietnam could defeat the Communists.

Vietnamese, however, feel this seriously misstates the real problems facing their country. The chief threat, they say, is not internal, but external. The Russians and the Red Chinese have equipped the North Vietnamese Communists who launch their main assaults to the south from bases in North Vietnam and Laos. Without use of these privileged sanctuaries by the Reds, it is believed President Diem could handle the internal threat.

The US decision to bludgeon the pro-Western forces in adjoining Laos into a coalition government headed by the Red-leaning, so-called neutral, Souvanna Phouma, has, therefore, come under intense criticism as well. Under Phouma, it is felt that the Communist North Vietnamese will have increased freedom to use Laos from which to assault South Vietnam.

**Yet the US is not only intent upon bringing this coalition about—a policy which is being tagged as "Harriman's folly"—but continues to withhold the monthly paychecks of pro-Western Laotian forces, thus weakening their bargaining position with Phouma in the negotiations over a coalition cabinet.**

Finally, the Vietnamese feel they cannot trust the United States as long as Frederick Nolting, Jr., remains as the American Ambassador to Vietnam. Nolting is identified with the State Department crowd which has long been urging the Kennedy Administration to "dump Diem," President of South Vietnam.

**That Gallup Poll:** Representative William E. Miller (N.Y.), the GOP National Chairman, again came out of his corner with his fists flying—this time in criticism of the Gallup Poll's pessimistic estimates of the chances of the Republican Party in next fall's elections. Echoing Al Smith's refrain, he said last week "let's look at the record of prognostication" of Gallup.

"Take 1942," he remarked. "In that year Roosevelt's popularity stood at 84 per cent. Only 38 per cent of those polled [by Gallup at this stage of the game] favored the election of a Republican Congress. The upshot? We picked up 47 seats." The gain necessary for the GOP to take control of Congress next January would be 44.

In 1946, the Gallup index again showed only 38 per cent as favoring the GOP to win the congressional elections that year. But the Republicans pulled off an historic landslide—capturing 56 seats and taking control of the House. (They also won the Senate that year.)

In 1950, Miller recalled, only 32 per cent of those polled favored election of a GOP Congress. But the GOP wound up with 49.95 per cent of the major party vote and a gain of 28 seats.

*As for the situation today, Miller emphasized narrowing Democratic margins in by-elections since* 1960. *In eight of nine special elections for the House since* 1960 *in which a Republican candidate was entered, the GOP nominee received a higher percentage of the vote than did the Republican for the office in the regular election in* 1960.

Chairman Miller concludes: "Republican fortunes are on the upgrade and party leaders should not succumb to the psychological warfare of the Democrats which seeks to infect the GOP with pessimism."

**Muzzling Hearings:** The political bloodletting on Capitol Hill between the Stennis subcommittee on "muzzling" and the Administration and State-Defense Department forces now rivals in intensity the physical bloodletting in Algeria's streets.

Last week Senator Strom Thurmond (D.-S.C.) reached the boiling point while questioning Under Secretary of State George W. Ball. Ball refused to answer directly the Carolinian's questions regarding the reasons for chopping out anti-Communist phrases and references to Russia and other Red countries as our Cold War enemies. Ball said that there are many "conditioning factors" in the "kaleidoscopic pattern" of foreign affairs which make such deletions necessary. He said that the US must not give Red propagandists the opportunity to picture Americans as "dominated by warlike generals and admirals."

However, Thurmond stuck to his charge, stating: "Our no-win, defeatist policies of paralysis in meekly meeting the threat posed by world communism are based on false conceptions of communism. One of these false conceptions is that we can still trust the Communists to keep true faith . . ." Backing up Thurmond the day following Ball's testimony, subcommittee chairman John Stennis (D.-Miss.) stated that censorship procedures were preventing military officers from presenting their views to Congress.

In a letter sent to the subcommittee last week, Admiral Arthur W. Radford (USN-Ret.), former



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chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, sharply criticized Pentagon muzzling of officers. Radford stated that the Fulbright memorandum, which urged muzzling of anti-Red military speeches, was a blow against the "integrity and morale" of the armed forces and that censorship of this kind is "destructive of loyalty."

**School Aid Issue:** Aid to education may well mean aid to Republican candidates this election year as Democrats in heavily Roman Catholic districts sweat out their party's opposition to aid to parochial and private schools.

The recent congressional election in Queens, New York City, in which a Republican came within an eyelash of capturing a seat in an overwhelmingly Democratic district (HUMAN EVENTS, March 3), is being taken as a bad omen for Democrats regarding this issue. The *Herald Tribune* noted that Democratic opposition to parochial-private aid resulted in "a good deal more Republican strength than a lot of people thought possible."

What may turn into a potent political factor in highly Catholic urban areas is a group formed in New York called the Committee for Educational Freedom. This organization wants aid to parochial and private schools and one of its leaders stated after the close Queens race: "We're now encouraged. We're going to be a factor in every statewide and federal race from now on. We'll put them all on the spot and ask: 'How do you feel about President Kennedy's school aid bill which excludes parochial schools?' If they answer wrong, we'll fight them."

**With most Republican candidates opposed to federal aid in any form or supporting aid for school construction only in needy areas, the Democrats are left holding the hot potato. Parochial school advocates are expected to feel much less animosity toward candidates who want no aid at all than toward those they feel seek aid for public schools while discriminating against parochial schools.**

Where this issue may be particularly distressing to Democrats is in President Kennedy's home state of Massachusetts. Although the Bay State tends Democratic (at present, eight Democratic House seats, six GOP), Republicans should do better than usual in the congressional elections this year. Because of the present inability of the governor and the legislature to reach an agreement on redistricting (the state loses two of its 14 House seats through reapportionment), all of the remaining 12 House seats will probably be contested "at large." Thus the Republicans can reap their normal country and suburban vote and then pile into Catholic Boston, picking up a larger than usual vote by lambasting the Democrats with the parochial-aid issue. In this way, the GOP could win a sizable majority of the 12 seats.

**California Democrat:** Blond, good-looking Democratic legislator Richard Richards visited Washington last week to firm up Democratic support for his bid to take the Senate seat up for grabs in California. The seat is now held by Republican Minority Whip Thomas Kuchel.

Richards, in talking to newsmen, posed as a "moderate" who rejected both the "extreme Left and the extreme Right." Yet Richards, in fact, is nothing of the kind. Those who recall his record remember that he helped organize the Southern California section of the Americans for Democratic Action; that he sponsored an advertisement on August 1, 1961, opposing the Smith Act under which the Justice Department is now prosecuting the Communist Party; that he has denounced the House Committee on Un-American Activities and has called for a dismantling of US military bases abroad. He also refused to reject support of Communist-dominated unions in 1954.

After his press conference, reporters cornering the state senator from Los Angeles County found out that Richards didn't think Kennedy was doing enough for "peace"; that the President shouldn't traffic with dictators of the right, but should certainly go to a summit meeting with Khrushchev.

**The Budget:** A committee representing 30 state Chamber of Commerce organizations has told President Kennedy that he could slash nearly $5 billion from his 1963 budget. The committee recommended that the Administration drop, among others, the following non-defense programs now being proposed:

(1) Federal aid for public schools to cost $90 million in 1963 and nearly $1 billion a year thereafter.

(2) Financing supplementary teacher training and teaching aids at an expenditure of $40 million in 1963 and over $100 million after 1963.

(3) Financing construction of college facilities and college scholarships which would cost $350 million a year for five years.

(4) A manpower development and training program which would average $150 million a year.

(5) Financing medical school scholarships and facilities which would cost some $100 million a year.

(6) An experimental youth program to cost $500 million a year if made permanent.

**The Honorable Ralph W. Gwinn, Republican Representative to Congress from New York for 14 years (1944-58), died on February 27. Mr. Gwinn was a staunch defender of the philosophy of conservatism. This was his tribute to HUMAN EVENTS: "I feel so indebted to HUMAN EVENTS that I am starting off the new Congressional term by expressing my appreciation to you for your patriotic efforts."**



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(7) A peacetime vocational rehabilitation program for service men which would cost $11 million the first year.

The Chamber's Federal Finance Committee also said the present foreign aid program should be sliced in half, from $5.4 to $2.7 billion and grants in aid could be reduced. School lunch programs and federal impacted-area operations should also be lowered, said the committee.

**Farm Climate:** GOP House Whip Leslie Arends (Ill.), fresh from the grass roots, reports growing dissatisfaction on the part of the American farmers with the Administration's program to "save US agriculture."

Arends points out the 1960 Democratic platform promised full parity, preservation of the family farm, easy credit and eradication of long-neglected rural blight.

**He notes that the parity ratio—which measures prices received by farmers against those they pay—averaged 79 per cent throughout 1961. This was the lowest average since the depression year of 1939.**

Farm prices, on an average, are lower than they were a year ago. Prices of hogs, cattle, poultry and eggs, which make up a large share of total farm income, have consistently run below those of 1960 during the Administration's first year. Despite sharply increased price supports for dairy products and corn, on December 15, 1961, farmers were receiving ten cents per hundredweight less for milk than they were a year ago, and only three cents per bushel more for corn.

Arends continues: "Despite the magnetic force which a 21-cent-per-bushel increase in wheat supports should be exerting upon the market now, farmers today are receiving only 12 cents per bushel more for wheat than they were a year ago."

Farm costs are at an all time high, moreover. According to the Agriculture Department, prices that farmers must pay rose half a billion dollars last year.

**Labor Hits at Goldberg:** Even George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, feels the threat from a government growing too big for its britches. He disagrees sharply with his old union pal, Labor Secretary Arthur Goldberg, on the latter's attempts to expand the Administration's role in non-emergency labor disputes beyond the time-tried functions of voluntary mediation and conciliation.

Meany's boiling point was reached when he read a Goldberg speech (before the Executives' Club in Chicago) in which the Secretary made it clear he believes—and presumably his boss in the White House believes—that from now on the government should be concerned not only with settling a dispute or strike but with how it is settled.

Meany snapped in reply, "When he [Goldberg] says the role of the federal government is to assert the national interest, it is a step toward saying the government has a right to tell either or both sides what to do, and I don't agree with that."

Thus the drift toward authority centralized in Washington alarms Meany and other leaders of organized labor, just as it has alarmed the employers with whom they deal. They see "free collective bargaining," a fetish in the union-management field, menaced by a use of power not appropriate in a democracy.

The Meany explosion follows many union bosses' growing disillusionment with Goldberg during a year in which they fear his ideas may have been influenced by some of the left-wing "intellectuals" highly placed in the White House.

**Urban Affairs:** President Kennedy was tripped up by Administration figures when he blamed defeat of his Urban Affairs Department on rural interests.

Shortly after the House voted 264 to 150 against the proposed department, Kennedy told a news conference: "The difficulty, of course, is that many of those who do not live in urban areas are opposed to it."

At the same time, however, the Commerce Department released a study that showed more than two out of every three congressmen come from "urban districts." The bureau said the 1960 census shows that of the 437 congressional districts as constituted for the present session, those with populations more than 50 per cent urban numbered 300.

Iowa's Senator Jack Miller, a Republican, pointed out that "since the proposal mustered only 150 votes, it is apparent that at least half of the House members from predominantly urban areas did not see fit to support it."

**By-Election Outcome:** In the recent Queens, New York City, congressional race (HUMAN EVENTS, March 3), in which Republican Thomas F. Galvin almost won in an overwhelmingly Democratic district, the recount showed that Democratic-Liberal nominee Benjamin S. Rosenthal won by 307 votes. Thus, the Democratic victory margin dropped from 74,000 in the November, 1960, election to only several hundred in February, 1962.

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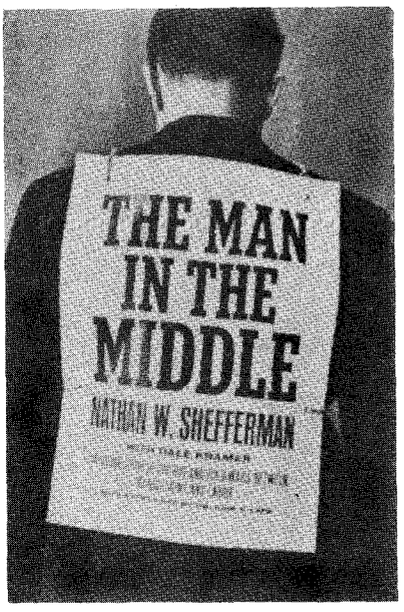
SCHEFFERMAN

*Reprinted below is a chapter from* The Man in the Middle (*Doubleday & Company Inc., New York, 1961, $4.50*) *by Nathan W. Schefferman with Dale Kramer. Schefferman was connected with the labor movement for a half century as a labor-management specialist. This article is Chapter 2 of the book, "O, Danny Boy; Rise of the Teamsters Union; Dumb Muscle; The Hero Concept in Organizing Labor: A Therapeutic Strike." Schefferman was a principal witness at the McClellan committee's labor racketeering hearings several years ago.*

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HUMAN EVENTS

March 10, 1962

# The Rise of the Teamsters

## *The Dan Tobin Story*

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THEY USED TO SAY that when Daniel J. Tobin came to America from Ireland the stevedores had to blindfold and halter him and back him off the ship. The arrival was in 1889. Whether he was fourteen or twenty years old depends on what version of his birth near the river Shannon is accepted: his or that in the local archives. Dan's voice rarely fell below a bellow in the fourscore years of his life. But mist clouded his clear blue eyes in latter days when crowds rose and sang "Danny Boy" as he mounted a rostrum or orchestras struck up the music as he entered restaurants.

Dan Tobin was of average height and bulky. His ruddy face was topped in the last decades by white hair. He was a two-fisted whiskey drinker and fighter. The first was not essential to Teamsters leadership in the old days; the second was. When Dan was thirty-four years old (or twenty-eight) his enemies set upon him at a meeting in New York City. Because of his reputation they had secretly approached with chairs. They fractured his nose and cracked his ribs. It was an occupational hazard of leadership.

In Boston, Dan had driven a three-horse coal wagon, twelve hours a day, wages ten dollars a week. In his forty-five years as Teamsters president the conventions heard both grand and horrendous tales of those coal-hauling days.

*In 1944 Dan battled gamely in the International Teamsters Union against a move to raise his salary above $30,000 yearly. He won the fight. But in the melee a rent-free house in Miami was crowded upon him. The spot was handy, for next to family and union he loved horse racing and dice. "My losses are known only to God and me," he used to bellow confidentially. From his boxes at the tracks he graciously accepted homage.*

High on Dan's list of affections was President Franklin D. Roosevelt. It was at a Teamsters banquet that Roosevelt, launching his last campaign, shamed opponents for attacking his little dog, Fala. Lucky enough to be present, I took my chief pleasure in watching the benevolent pride on Dan's map-of-Ireland countenance.

Dan was a fine companion, once you understood his belligerent outcries were a part of the background. When he grew particularly vociferous his lovely wife, Irene, would tap him gently on the knee. His invariable response was, "Irene, lower your voice!" But his voice would go down a bit—for a few moments.

He liked approval. He fancied pureblood cattle, and I remember a long description of the qualities and cost of one prize bull. After twenty minutes there came a slight pause. Into it my wife, Edna, made what she regarded as a flattering remark.

"Some bull!"

The narrator's massive double-take would have pleased a film director.

Dan himself was a mighty Bull of the Woods and expected to be treated with deference. I have indicated that Dave Beck's usual manner was about as far from adulatory as possible. I saw General Dwight Eisenhower, when getting ready to run for President, hurry past ranks of dignitaries for a tete-a-tete with Dave. Although hugely pleased, Dave held to his lofty mein. He showed obeisance only to Dan Tobin. The only Teamsters leader who never did was Hoffa. Jimmy's philosophy was never to kowtow to anybody, and this slowed his rise in the hierarchy while Dan was president.



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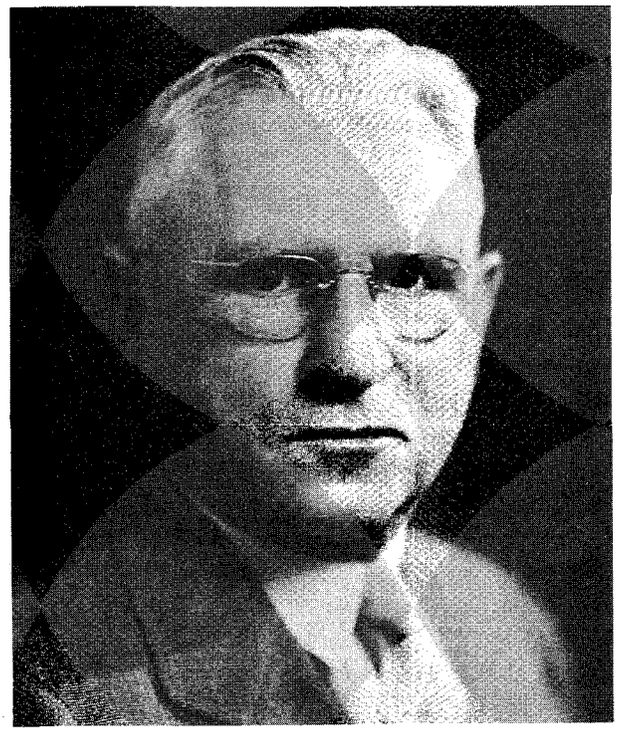

*TOBIN*

I HAVE GIVEN the little portrait of Dan Tobin for a reason besides getting into the history of the Teamsters. He was typical of the old-fashioned labor leaders. They were giant egotists—overwhelming personalities or shrewd maneuverers. They had to be, for while conventions might huzzah and sing "Danny Boy" or its equivalent, they moved through life pursued by strong men ready to overthrow them at the first sign of weakness.

Most had taken office when members were few and treasuries empty. After decades of building—and warding off challengers—their pride was like that of a man who has carved out an industrial empire. In a psychological sense the union belonged to them. They ousted subordinates or entire units. With a stroke of the pen they took away the right of local bodies to name their own leaders and dispatched "provisional" officials to rule.

This conception of divine right held over into future generations. By and large it is accepted by memberships. Here is the reason leadership practices which shock the general public have not created "throw 'em out" movements in the ranks. That, plus a deep-seated xenophobia, or fear of strangers. For a century the leaders preached that only in their own union was there strength for working people. They warned constantly against the dark, cruel forces always trying to break the union. So under outside criticism the members draw together and turn their anger against the strangers.

The history of the Teamsters before Dan Tobin can be covered quickly. Scattered locals rose and fell in the latter half of the 19th Century. It was not until 1899 that Samuel Gompers, founder and president of the American Federation of Labor, chartered a unit, called the Team Drivers International Union. I am indebted to Robert D. Leiter's *The Teamsters Union* for concrete dates and figures. By 1902 the Team Drivers had 13,800 members. Then came the inevitable split. The rival Teamsters National Union was formed by seceding locals.

A labor economist of the period, John R. Commons, wrote, "Actual or expected violence is looked upon by employers and teamsters as a matter of course."

Leiter describes an incident:

> In 1902, seven hundred stockyard drivers in Chicago struck for higher pay and shorter hours. When signs of a meat famine appeared, the packers called on the mayor for police protection, and the superintendents and clerks of the companies began moving the heavily guarded meat in a caravan of wagons to the retailers.
>
> The teamsters met this action by putting a sympathetic blockade into effect. As the first wagon in the caravan appeared, a coal teamster drove his heavy load into the line. The police immediately ordered him off, but he protested that his wagon was stuck. Seconds later teams of horses and wagons of every size and trade moved in beside him from the side streets. The police tried valiantly to break the jam by dragging drivers from their seats, clubbing those refusing to follow instructions, and making arrests. These efforts, however, were futile since new teams drove in as others were backed out. The aftermath of the affair disclosed several persons seriously injured, many more severely bruised, and heavy financial losses to the merchants.

From those paragraphs it is easy to understand how the brawny, free-ranging Teamster became a proud man and in time a skillful direct-actionist. About this time John B. Lennon, AFL treasurer, remarked: "There is no industry which can successfully carry on if the Teamster lays down his reins."

The statement has echoed through the decades until now it is a threatening roar. The Teamsters Union itself has boasted that it can stop everything on wheels. This is a foolish boast, creating a public image of itself as an ogre, a mysterious giant able to suddenly bring the nation crashing to its knees.

Perhaps the Teamsters *can* stop everything on wheels. But for how long? A general strike never has succeeded. One can raise a big "if" out of many things. If the oil industry cut off gas supplies, wheels would grind to a halt too. If the banks closed their doors, national havoc would result, as we know from the bank holidays of the early Thirties. Strikes by owners of the oil and bank industries are hardly more farfetched than a nationwide strike by the Teamsters. A bit of cool thinking will bring matters into focus.

TO GET BACK to our historical summary. Dan Tobin had joined the Boston local of the AFL Team Drivers in 1900. Three years later he was a delegate to the national convention, where the rival factions were merged into the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Dan's victory as delegate got him fired from his coal-hauling job, but after a while he landed another.

In the autumn Dan stood for business agent of his local. He was defeated—the one defeat of his lifetime. Three years later, now Boston business agent, he roared long and loud for Boston as the proper site of the 1907 national conclave. He won the point. In that 1907 gathering he started his long reign.

*For a quarter century Dan was happy. The conventions never gave him all the "tax"—per capita tax—he wanted for the national office. But membership rose from 38,905 to a peak of 112,453 and never fell below 75,000. He was content at his roll-top desk behind an iron gate on a floor of the yellow brick Carpenters' Union building in Indianapolis. His power in the AFL hierarchy grew.*



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Dan allowed the minor satraps to run their local affairs about as they pleased, so long as they paid their per capita tax to the International Union and voted for Dan Tobin in the conclaves. Maybe some of the factotums had under-the-table deals with employers; collusion was now and again charged. Dan certainly disapproved of shady dealers. On the other hand, he wanted no "rubbish," as he once called the unskilled masses, which some people wanted to bring into the unions.

IN THE LATE TWENTIES Dave Beck was organizing this "rubbish" in the Seattle region. Even more disturbing to Dan Tobin was the situation in Minneapolis. Suddenly the fabulous Dunne brothers had risen out of nowhere. There were Vincent and Miles and Grant; nobody seemed to know how many others. Vince, the leader, was a cool, methodical man who had organized the coal drivers, as Tobin in a faraway day had before him. Behind Vince's calm exterior was the dedicated brain of a Communist revolutionary. He was of the Trotsky faction. An older brother, Bill, a Stalinist, former *Daily Worker* editor and agitator in Outer Mongolia, was presently assigned to Minneapolis to heckle that dangerous "counter-revolutionary," his brother Vince.

The Minneapolis Teamsters president, won over by the Dunnes, had opened the gate before Dan knew what was going on. The "rubbish" poured into the union. Employers resisted and there was a strike. Tobin sent orders to halt the militancy. The Dunne boys paid no attention. A Minneapolis citizens' body got itself deputized and came to the streets in battle array. After a fearful struggle the deputies and police retreated, leaving a citizen dead, the union commanding the streets. Order was restored by the militia, but a shaky peace left the Dunnes in power.

For clear understanding it is necessary to bear in mind the chronology of labor's rise in America. This was prior to the great sit-downs in the auto, steel and other "mass" industries —even before John L. Lewis and other AFL rebels formed the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO).

There in his comfortable old-fashioned office in Indianapolis sat Dan Tobin, watching hot revolution in his domain. What was the use of journeying to Minneapolis? To listen to the hooting of Dunne followers, the shouts of "capitalist lackey" and worse?

Naturally he didn't go. Instead he followed the usual procedure of labor moguls. He "lifted" the Minneapolis charter. He authorized a new local.

From the roll-top desk went a call for help to Gompers' successor as AFL president, William Green. A whole army of help!

Green dispatched a smart, capable field general named Meyer Lewis to smash the Dunne forces and gain adherents for the new unit. Lewis was authorized to draft "high-class muscle" from AFL unions all over the nation.

About muscle.

At this period the term "goon" was coming into use. It depicts a bulging, scowling menace resting in a cage until loosed upon the helpless. This is "dumb muscle." It lands in jail and soon disappears into the prisons.

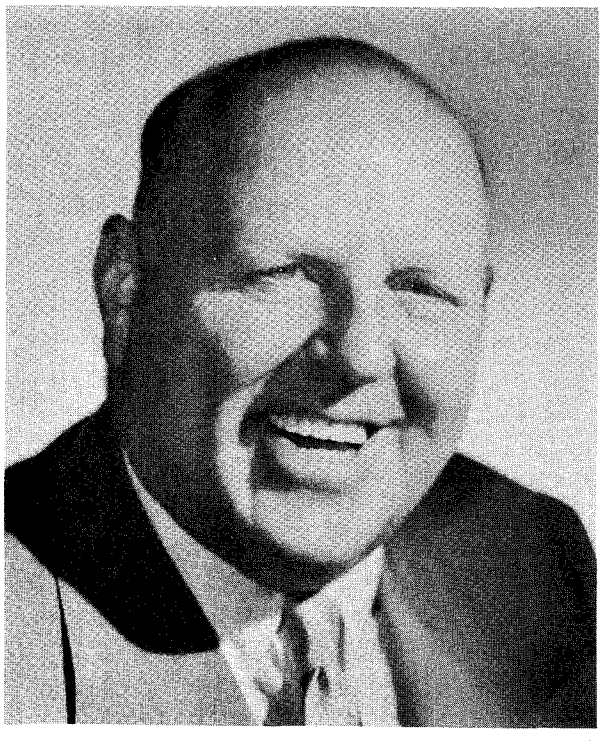
"High-class muscle" has brains as well as brawn. The generic term is "stalwart." In the labor movement the stalwart has found a place for his combination of special talents. He is rarely successful in any other line of endeavor.

*The stalwart plays the role of hero. Dozens of times daily he is seen on television. Generally a law badge has been stuck on him or he is a wrong-righting lone ranger or private eye. He wins by fist, weapon, or simply by his dangerous manner. In some circumstances—as a struggle for loyalty of rough-hewn union workers—the hero image can be vital. Popularity goes to the stalwarts who, if not necessarily the best fighters, stage the best show. Of course, stalwarts do not fight all the time. They have to be smart enough to carry on routine work as minor union leaders. Even so, the aura of the hero is always about them.*

Minneapolis had a quiet influx of stalwarts, and there was skirmishing in the barrooms and alleys. The major battle was awaited with great interest. One day the Dunne faction came out in a spectacular manner. They would march on Sears, Roebuck's warehouse and blitz the workers into their union. The grand victory would put a feather in the Dunne cap.

The AFL field general, Meyer Lewis, had learned of the maneuver. He seized the opportunity for a public showdown battle. His stalwarts ambushed the Dunne column. In the bitter fighting the stalwart army won the victory and prestige. Finally an uneasy truce was worked out between the Dunnes and Tobin.

In my own dealings with the Dunne boys I found they could be sound trade unionists. In those early depression Thirties much employe resentment had grown up against Sears, Roebuck in Minneapolis. Part was owing to low pay resulting from a share-the-work policy, also lack of business; few worked full time. This resentment was handled badly by a stony-faced manager whose attitude was, "This is the way I want it. This is the way you'll do it." This multiplied the grievances.



*BECK*



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The workers were mostly Scandinavians. In these people resentment goes deep and isn't easily removed.

The Dunne boys had organized some of the workers. I think Miles and Grant were directly in charge, Vince behind the scenes. Sears was adamant, as always, to a closed shop and was reluctant to sign an agreement of any kind. However, I went to Minneapolis, held talks with the Dunnes, and discovered the possibility of what is called a "third party" agreement. Neither the union nor the employer signs this understanding. A third party writes down what the contending parties agree to do, and it is binding.

*While Sears offered reasonably good terms, I knew that the employes would not be satisfied. The resentments were too big and buried too deep. I informed the Dunne boys I was going to make them "take a strike"; that is, allow the employes to work out their anger in a stoppage.*

The strike was called. A headquarters tent was pitched in the Sears parking lot; pickets marched; leaflets were handed out, mass meetings held, and so on. Anger was being therapeutically satisfied in "punishing" the company. Now a "third party" agreement was made on the terms discussed earlier.

The above may appear cynical. But I am convinced that every one benefited. The Dunne boys could boast of a partial victory. The reduction of employe aggressions was valuable to Sears. The workers gained peace of mind while avoiding a long strike into which their anger might have led them.

DAN TOBIN had resigned himself to the "rubbish." As the Teamsters grew by leaps and bounds his importance in AFL councils was enhanced. After John L. Lewis' Mine Workers and other big unions had gone into the CIO, Dan's treasury and the aid by the Teamsters to other unions in strikes was largely responsible for holding the AFL together. What was also responsible for holding the AFL together was that while the CIO was aggressively organizing the unskilled and the mass-production industries the AFL was not overly aggressive and had to depend on the Teamsters to take the burden of organizing drives and strikes through sympathetic striking and boycotts. The Teamsters saved the AFL from disintegrating.

But troubles piled on—most of them supplied by the Dunne boys. They had a brilliant young disciple named Farrell Dobbs who came to be regarded, along with Vince Dunne, as a prophet. Jimmy Hoffa later told a *Saturday Evening Post* interviewer: "Dobbs was a far-seeing man. He used to


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*HOFFA*

talk by the hour about what was going to happen to this country, and we'd listen."

Dobbs predicted the concentration of long-distance trucking in the hands of a few companies and pointed out the Teamsters' need for wide-area bargaining strength. He was soon organizing "over-the-road" drivers, which extended the Dunne power through several Midwestern states.

This was too much for Tobin. Once more he declared war, and stalwarts were hurried to the Minneapolis front. The cohort arriving from Detroit was commanded by Jimmy Hoffa.

Again there was fighting in the streets. But it was a greater power that at last beat the Dunne boys: the United States Government. Vince and Miles and Grant—along with Farrell Dobbs and other leaders—were charged with hampering the nation's defense effort. Grant, a wounded veteran of World War I, committed suicide. Most of the others went to prison. After getting out they were unable to regain power.

*The Teamsters Union continued to grow during the war and afterward. In 1933 membership had stood at 75,206. By 1952 it was 1,120,245. Tobin had regarded Dave Beck as a saint, compared with the Dunnes. And, as we have seen, Beck was humble in the old gentleman's presence.*

Beck was tapping at Tobin's door. Whenever Dan peeped out Dave tried to smother him with gifts and honors. Another home was crowded on Dan—this one a summer place in Massachusetts. The hire of servants was to be charged to the union. Dan could travel to the ends of the earth with all expenses paid. All this must continue if he were to retire—the use of the homes, etc. He must also accept a salary boost to $50,000 a year as president emeritus.

Dan hesitated but finally gave in. Perhaps he feared the strain of getting acquainted with more houses. In 1952, with the convention singing "Danny Boy," he stepped down.

Dave stepped up.



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What You Can Do

Human Events

Vol. XIX, No. 10—Section III

March 10, 1962

# House Roll Call on Urban Affairs Plan

## *How Did Your Congressman Score?*

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S proposal to create a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing was overwhelmingly defeated in the House of Representatives February 21 by a vote of 264 to 150. As it was necessary to reject the plan in only one body, there was no point in the Senate voting on it.

Southern members joined with Republicans in administering a crushing defeat to the Chief Executive. ONLY FOUR SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS, all from large cities, voted for the Kennedy proposal: Dante B. Fascell, *Miami, Florida*; Henry B. Gonzalez, *San Antonio, Texas*; J. Carlton Loser, *Nashville, Tennessee*; and Albert Thomas, *Houston, Texas*. Ninety-three Democrats and all seven Republicans from the South opposed the President.

THIRTEEN REPUBLICANS kept their party from putting up a solid phalanx against the Kennedy scheme: John F. Baldwin and William S. Mailliard, *California*; Stanley R. Tupper, *Maine*; Charles McC. Mathias, *Maryland*; Chester E. Merrow, *New Hampshire*; William T. Cahill, Florence P. Dwyer, Milton W. Glenn and George M. Wallhauser, *New Jersey*; Paul A. Fino, Seymour Halpern and John V. Lindsay, *New York City*; and James E. Van Zandt, *Pennsylvania*.

NORTHERN DEMOCRATS backed up the President, 133 to 21. Significant among the defectors was Morris K. Udall of *Arizona*, brother of Interior Secretary Stewart L. Udall. Others were: Clarence Cannon, W. R. Hull, Jr., Richard Ichord, Paul C. Jones and Morgan M. Moulder, *Missouri*; John Jarman, Tom Steed and Victor Wickersham, *Oklahoma*; Robert E. Cook and Walter H. Moeller, *Ohio*; David S. King and M. Blaine Peterson, *Utah*; Gracie B. Pfost, *Idaho*; J. Floyd Breeding, *Kansas;* Thomas F. Johnson, *Maryland*; Fred Marshall, *Minnesota*; Walter S. Baring, *Nevada*; Thomas G. Morris, *New Mexico*; John M. Slack, Jr., *West Virginia*; and Robert W. Kastenmeier, *Wisconsin*.

The complete vote appears on the back of this page.

Let your representative know how you feel about this matter.

If he voted for the Kennedy plan to place all the cities of the United States under the thumb of a centralized government in Washington, D. C., write to him today and express your disapproval. At the same time, make plans to defeat him, either in the party primaries or in the November election. First, make sure that you are eligible to vote.

If your congressman voted against the President's proposal to increase Federal spending for housing, mass transportation and other programs to attract the big-city vote, write a letter of appreciation to him at once. If your representative is a Democrat, it is all the more important that you do this, as it takes real courage to stand up to a Chief Executive as politically motivated as John F. Kennedy.

Remember, it was the big-city vote that made the margin of difference in the 1960 Presidential election. Mr. Kennedy received a slap in the face from 111 members of his own party. If conservatives throughout the nation will follow up this victory for less concentration of power in Washington, it may well culminate in a Republican House of Representatives after the November 6, 1962, elections.

**WHAT YOU CAN DO reprints available: single copy 15c; 15 for $1; 35 for $2; 125 for $5; 300 copies for $10; 1000 for $20; in 5000 lots $15 per thousand. Please order by date of desired issue.**

## *A Big Lesson for JFK*

*Extracts from a Chicago Tribune editorial*

THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION was forehanded enough to produce a commemorative stamp in celebration of John Glenn's space flight the instant the astronaut was plucked from the ocean. We trust that the Administration did not jump the gun and print up a similar stamp in commemoration of the establishment of Mr. Kennedy's much sought after Department of Urban Affairs, for that isn't going to happen.

It was considered a foregone conclusion that the House would scotch this costly adventure in bureaucratic aggrandizement, as it did by a vote of 264 to 150, but the Senate, for all practical purposes, got there first. Mr. Kennedy, sometimes credited with great political flair, pulled a major blooper in trying to force the Senate to junk its traditional procedures and knuckle under to his command.

**In an attempt to get some sort of moral victory before the House got in its licks, Mr. Kennedy insisted that the Senate force the urban affairs plan out of the Government Operations Committee and bring it to a quick vote. This power play was so offensive to many senators, who are jealous of their prerogatives, that all 100 members turned up for roll call for the first time in the history of the chamber. The vote went against the President, 58 to 42.**

We regard the Administration's reverse as no loss to the country. Although it has been the contention of the White House that the new department would merely upgrade functions now vested in the Housing and Home Finance Agency, opponents have charged that the Administration contemplated creation of a Goliath which would drain the treasury and put the Federal government in charge of the detailed operation of all functions now reserved to the cities.

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# (REPUBLICANS in Capital Letters; Democrats in Small Letters)

ALABAMA
Andrews +
Boykin +
Elliott +
Grant +
Huddleston p+
Jones +
Rains +
Roberts +
Selden +

ALASKA
Rivers -

ARIZONA
RHODES +
M. Udall +

ARKANSAS
Alford +
Gathings +
Harris +
Mills +
C. Norrell +
Trimble +

CALIFORNIA
Los Angeles
BELL +
HIESTAND +
HOSMER +
LIPSCOMB +
McDONOUGH +
ROUSSELOT +
SMITH +
Corman -
Doyle -
Holifield -
King -
Roosevelt -

CALIFORNIA
Outside Los Angeles
BALDWIN -
GUBSER +
MAILLIARD -
TEAGUE o
UTT +
WILSON +
YOUNGER +
Cohelan -
Hagen -
Johnson -
C. Miller -
G. Miller -
McFall -
Moss -
Saund -
Shelley -
Sheppard -
Sisk -

COLORADO
CHENOWETH +
DOMINICK +
Aspinall p+
Rogers -

CONNECTICUT
SEELY-BROWN +
SIBAL +
Daddario -
Giaimo -
Kowalski -
Monagan p-

DELAWARE
McDowell -

FLORIDA
CRAMER +
Bennett +
Fascell -
Haley +
Herlong +
Matthews +
Rogers +
Sikes +

GEORGIA
Pilch +
Jas. Davis +
John Davis +
Flynt +
Forrester +
Hagan +
Landrum +
Pilcher +
Stephens +
Vinson +

HAWAII
Inouye -

IDAHO
Harding -
Pfost +

ILLINOIS
Chicago
CHURCH +
COLLIER +
DERWINSKI +
Dawson -
Finnegan -
Klucsynski -
Libonati -
Murphy -
O'Brien -
O'Hara -
Pucinski -
Rostenkowski -
Yates -

ILLINOIS
Outside Chicago
ANDERSON +
ARENDS +
CHIPERFIELD +
FINDLEY +
HOFFMAN +
MASON +
MICHEL +
SPRINGER +
Gray -
Mack -
Price -
Shipley -

INDIANA
ADAIR +
BRAY +
BRUCE +
HALLECK +
HARVEY +
ROUDEBUSH +
WILSON +
Brademas -
Denton -
Madden -
Roush -

IOWA
BROMWELL +
GROSS +
HOEVEN +
JENSEN +
KYL +
SCHWENGEL +
Coad -
Smith -

KANSAS
AVERY +
DOLE +
ELLSWORTH +
McVEY +
SHRIVER +
Breeding +

KENTUCKY
SILER +
Burke -
Chelf -
Natcher -
Perkins -
Spence -
Stubblefield -
Watts -

LOUISIANA
Boggs p+
Hebert +
McSween +
Morrison +
Passman +
Thompson +
Waggonner +
Willis +

MAINE
GARLAND +
McINTIRE +
TUPPER -

MARYLAND
MATHIAS -
Brewster -
Fallon -
Friedal -
Garmatz -
Johnson +
Lankford -

MASSACHUSETTS
BATES +
CONTE +
CURTIS +
KEITH +
MARTIN +
MORSE +
Boland -
Burke p-
Donohue -
Lane -
Macdonald -
McCormack o
O'Neill -
Philbin -

MICHIGAN
Detroit
Diggs -
Dingell -
Griffiths -
Lesinski -
Nedzi -
Ryan -

MICHIGAN
Outside Detroit
BENNETT p+
BROOMFIELD p+
CEDERBERG +
CHAMBERLAIN +
FORD +
GRIFFIN +
HARVEY +
HOFFMAN o
JOHANSEN +
KNOX +
MEADER +
O'Hara -

MINNESOTA
ANDERSEN +
JUDD +
LANGEN +
MacGREGOR +
NELSEN +
QUIE +
Blatnik -
Karth -
Marshall +

MISSISSIPPI
Abernethy +
Colmer +
Smith +
Whitten +
Williams +
Winstead +

MISSOURI
CURTIS +
HALL +
Bolling -
Cannon +
Hull +
Ichord +
Jones +
Karsten -
Moulder +
Randall -
Sullivan -

MONTANA
BATTIN +
Olsen -

NEBRASKA
BEERMANN +
CUNNINGHAM +
MARTIN +
WEAVER +

NEVADA
Baring +

NEW HAMPSHIRE
BASS +
MERROW -

NEW JERSEY
AUCHINCLOSS +
CAHILL -
DWYER -
FRELINGHUYSEN +
GLENN -
OSMERS +
WALLHAUSER -
WIDNALL +
Addonizio -
Daniels -
Gallagher -
Joelson -
Rodino -
Thompson -

NEW MEXICO
Montoya -
Morris +

NEW YORK
New York City
FINO -
HALPERN -
LINDSAY -
RAY +
Addabbo p-
Anfuso p-
Buckley -
Carey -
Celler -
Delaney -
Farbstein -
Gilbert -
Healey -
Kelly -
Keogh -
Multer -
Powell -
Rooney -
Ryan -
Santangelo -
Zelenko -

NEW YORK
Outside N. Y. City
BARRY +
BECKER +
DERCUNIAN +
DOOLEY +
GOODELL +
KILBURN +
KING +
MILLER +
OSTERTAG +
PILLION +
PIRNIE o
RIEHLMAN +
ROBISON +
ST. GEORGE +
TABER +
WEIS +
WHARTON +
Dulski -
O'Brien -
Pike -
Stratton -

NORTH CAROLINA
JONAS +
Alexander +
Bonner +
Cooley +
Fountain +
Henderson +
Kitchin +
Kornegay +
Lennon +
Scott +
Taylor +
Whitener +

NORTH DAKOTA
NYGAARD +
SHORT +

OHIO
ASHBROOK +
AYRES +
BETTS +
BOLTON +
BOW +
BROWN +
CLANCY +
DEVINE +
HARSHA +
LATTA +
McCULLOCH +
MINSHALL +
MOOREHEAD +
MOSHER +
SCHENCK +
SCHERER o
Ashley -
Cook +
Feighan -
Hays p-
Kirwan -
Moeller +
Vanik -

OKLAHOMA
BELCHER +
Albert -
Edmondson -
Jarman +
Steed +
Wickersham +

OREGON
DURNO +
NORBLAD +
Green -
Ullman p-

PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia
Barrett -
Byrne -
Granahan -
Green -
Nix -
Toll -

Pittsburgh
CORBETT +
FULTON +
Holland -
Moorhead -

PENNSYLVANIA
Outside Big Cities
CURTIN +
DAGUE +
FENTON +
GAVIN +
GOODLING +
KEARNS +
KUNKEL +
MILLIKEN +
SAYLOR +
SCHNEEBELI +
SCHWEIKER +
SCRANTON +
VAN ZANDT -
WHALLEY +
Clark -
Dent -
Flood -
Morgan -
Rhodes -
Walter -

RHODE ISLAND
Fogarty -
St. Germain -

SOUTH CAROLINA
Ashmore +
Dorn +
Hemphill +
McMillan p+
Rivers +

SOUTH DAKOTA
BERRY +
REIFEL +

TENNESSEE
BAKER +
L. REECE +
Bass o
Davis +
Everett +
Evins +
Frazier +
Loser -
Murray +

TEXAS
ALGER +
Beckworth +
Brooks +
Burleson +
Casey +
Dowdy +
Fisher +
Gonzales -
Kilgore +
Mahon +
Patman +
Poage +
Purcell +
Roberts +
Rogers +
Rutherford +
Teague +
Thomas -
Thompson +
Thornberry +
Wright +
Young +

UTAH
King +
Peterson +

VERMONT
STAFFORD +

VIRGINIA
BROYHILL +
POFF +
Abbitt +
Downing +
Gary +
Hardy +
Harrison +
Jennings +
Smith +
Tuck +

WASHINGTON
HORAN +
MAY +
PELLY +
TOLLEFSON +
WESTLAND +
Hansen -
Magnuson o

WEST VIRGINIA
MOORE o
Bailey -
Hechler -
Kee -
Slack +
Staggers -

WISCONSIN
BYRNES +
LAIRD +
O'KONSKI o
SCHADEBERG +
THOMSON +
VAN PELT +
Johnson -
Kastenmeier +
Reuss -
Zablocki -

WYOMING
HARRISON +

Voted Right +; Voted Wrong -; Paired Right p+; Paired Wrong p-; Not Recorded o. Representative Aspinall (D.-Colo.) was present but abstained from voting to pair with Representative Anfuso (D.-N.Y.) who was absent.

New York and South Carolina each have one vacancy.



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## *How the GOP Can Build Up Its Big-City Vote — Ohio Shows the Way*

OHIO WAS THE ONLY major industrial state to give a substantial majority to Nixon. That result is generally credited to State Republican Chairman Ray Bliss, who devoted much time and effort to the state's nine largest cities: Toledo, Cleveland, Akron, Canton, Youngstown, Dayton, Springfield, Columbus and Cincinnati.

Republicans tend to neglect the biggest cities because there is little or no chance for them to win the LOCAL offices. Therefore, when national and state offices are at stake, there is no fighting force to register and get those who would vote Republican if somebody pushed them into it. When party workers really try, they can always find 10 to 25 more GOP votes, even in precincts with the biggest Democratic margins. Just 10 or 20 more votes per big-city precinct would have swung enough votes in half a dozen industrial states in 1960 to have elected Nixon.

But there is a more serious aspect to this neglect of big-city precincts. This neglect gives the corrupt big-city bosses free rein to count "graveyard voters." There have been elections in which as many as 40,000 "graveyard votes" have been counted in St. Louis alone. If there is no Republican pollwatcher or election judge in a precinct, the "machine" can and often does add 50 or 100 to the Democratic count.

It is entirely possible that an honest count might have shown that Nixon won the 1960 election by a majority of several hundred thousand. However, the official count put JFK ahead of Nixon by 118,000.

For these reasons, this "Guide for Precinct Work" is of extraordinary value. It was prepared for Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) and distributed to all GOP precinct workers before the 1960 election.

Despite the certainty that the Democrats would carry Cleveland (overwhelmingly Democratic), the hard-working Republican organization got out the full GOP vote in that and other Democratic strongholds.

Result: Ohio—predicted for Kennedy by nearly all Washington commentators—gave Nixon a majority of 274,000.

If you wish to participate effectively in the 1962 elections, read this guide carefully.

# Guide for Precinct Work

HAPPY RESULTS in elections are not an accident. Many people who believe in the principles of the Republican party help bring it about through work in the precinct—the grass roots of politics.

Precinct work represents a joint effort by the regular organization of the Republican party and by volunteers who are willing to *work* for the party as well as just talk and think Republican.

The purpose of this guide is to outline a program so that all people interested in aiding the Republican party can effectively take part in the all-important election this fall. If we are to have success, each volunteer must know what is expected of him, and the aids he will have to help him do the best and most effective job possible.

First, who are the people directly involved in precinct activity and how do they help one another?

### PRECINCT COMMITTEEMAN

There are 2,349 precincts in Cuyahoga County. In most precincts there is an elected Republican precinct committeeman. This person filed a petition for office with the Cuyahoga County Board of Elections and was voted into office by his Republican neighbors in the precinct.

The responsibility of the precinct committeeman includes:

1. Canvassing his precinct prior to all registration deadlines and elections.
2. Distributing Republican literature.
3. Obtaining voting booth officials for all elections.
4. Being available to help his constituents.

The precinct committeeman, although elected, actually is a volunteer who receives no pay.

The average precinct has about 400 voters. The committeeman cannot be expected to cover his precinct thoroughly without help. This is where the precinct aide enters the picture.

### PRECINCT AIDE

Those of you who are precinct aides have voluntarily offered to give the help needed in the precinct.

You are willing to work or you would not have volunteered.

Your time and effort won't be wasted if you heed the following suggestions:

Work hand-in-glove with the precinct committeeman in your assigned area. It will be in or near your home precinct.

Start getting acquainted with him by calling him tomorrow, preferably in the early evening. He's expecting to hear from *you*, so don't keep him in suspense.

During your conversation with him, make plans for an early meeting so you can work out a precinct campaign.

### THE JOB TO BE DONE

The precinct committeeman and precinct aide should first find out how many persons will help them in carrying out precinct work.

If wives can help, you immediately have four people. If you can find three additional couples, you have ten people to help with the job.

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Don't overlook the Republican booth workers. There are six in each precinct and many of them will help.

In a typical precinct of 400 voters, ten people would, at the most, have only 40 voters each to be concerned with.

Once you have determined the number of workers in a precinct, what do you do?

The basic tool you have to work with is the poll book for your precinct.

This is a record of all voters in your precinct, and it indicates whether a voter is Republican, Democrat or independent.

The poll book has been made available to both of you, the precinct committeeman and the precinct aide.

Divide the poll book up by tearing out the pages. Make sure that each worker in your precinct has the names of approximately an equal number of voters.

Instruct each worker to make out a list of his voters by street address. This will simplify the job of canvassing which should be done in person, if at all possible. A phone call is the next best bet.

This basic tool should be used for (1) increasing the number of registered Republican voters and (2) of securing the maximum turnout of Republican voters at the election.

## REGISTRATION

A voter in Ohio must be registered 40 days prior to an election in order to vote.

If you are not registered you can't vote no matter how strong your feelings may be about a candidate or an issue.

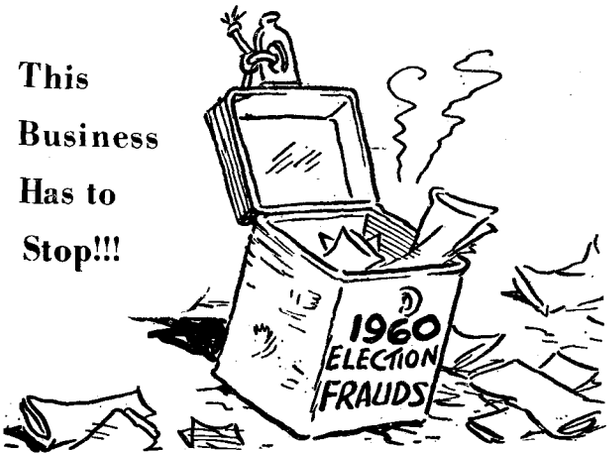
Take your list of Republican voters and independents—don't bother with or stir up Democrats—and ask the following questions in person or by phone:

1. Are you properly registered to vote in November?

2. Is there anyone in your family who needs to be registered or re-registered?

3. Can I be of any service in the registration process, such as supplying a change of address card to be used when someone has moved within the county (that is, from one place in Cuyahoga County to another)?

The poll book for your precinct does not contain names of non-registered persons. In a strongly Republican precinct these persons are the golden crop we want to harvest. The best system for accomplishing this is to make a list of all addresses in your precinct and check the list against your poll book. All addresses not included in your poll book are those of non-registered voters and such voters should be called on personally and urged to register.




In this effort, be sure to identify yourself as a neighbor, and use the pamphlet supplied you on technical matters of registration to answer any questions.

You are performing a public service which will be appreciated by your neighbors.

## ELECTION

At least a week prior to the election you should have contacted every non-Democrat voter in your precinct.

Make sure that each of these voters knows that an active Republican worker cares whether or not he votes.

You have been supplied with literature to give to your neighbors, and there is more available at Republican headquarters should it be needed.

Inform the people on whom you call that you are doing this work solely in the interest of good government as you see it.

Election-day activity, such as transportation service, telephone service, sitter service, poll-watchers, etc., should be jointly planned and carried out by the committeeman and volunteers in each precinct.

Remember, neither the committeeman nor the volunteer is a paid worker.

## SUPPLEMENTAL WORK

Each committeeman and aide should, in addition to precinct work, make certain that (1) his relatives and (2) his close friends are registered and vote Republican.

## CONCLUSION

In the event there should be any questions about procedure or working arrangements, the committeemen should contact their ward leaders, and the aides should contact their headquarters' representatives. In either case, if this is not satisfactory, contact Republican headquarters directly. The regular organization and the volunteer organization are working together for the same result —Republican Victory!

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HUMAN EVENTS --- COMMENTARY ---

Vol. XIX, No. 10—Section V March 10, 1962

# Strikes and the Space Effort

*By VICTOR RIESEL*

WHILE THE PRESIDENT of the US was congratulating Lieutenant Colonel John H. Glenn, Jr., for riding the skies, the national president of the electrical union congratulated the cable splicers at Cape Canaveral for the assist in getting the astronaut away up there. Not content with the dispatch of a telegram giving equal billing to the electricians, their chief threw in a line which slapped at some friends of mine in the US Senate.

Since I'm sensitive in an old-fashioned way to what is said about men I call friends, I take this as a personal affront. Why?

First, here is a copy of the wire sent by the Electrical Brotherhood's president, Gordon Freeman, to his regional lieutenant, one Bob Palmer, who has tangled with the Senate, the Air Force, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), just to mention a few.

"On behalf of the Brotherhood's entire membership . . . may I extend heartiest congratulations to the members of your local union and all your fellow workers for the essential part they played in making today's historic space flight possible.

"I fear that those who have been so ready to criticize the delays during the program will be too busy today to take note of the fact that without the efforts of the skilled workmen at the Cape Canaveral base today's event would not have been possible."

**True. But if there had not been the criticism "today's event" might have been delayed much longer. It was Senator McClellan who said that the first astronaut had been delayed from six months to a year because of an almost endless series of strikes at the Cape. Was it wrong for the Senate and the press to report that in 54 months at the Cape there had been 87,000 man days—and millions of dollars—lost at the Cape alone?**

Was it wrong to report that there had been some 86,000 man days lost in strikes, wildcats and "sick" stoppages at all missile and space bases in 1960 alone? Was it wrong to report that there were men, vitally needed skilled craftsmen, who refused to report to work at the Cape because they wanted jurisdiction over certain work? And when they were begged, cajoled, pleaded with, they said they had to spend time "going fishing," "cleaning their yards," and "cleaning their swimming pools." Was it wrong to report that this very same Bob Palmer now being congratulated was charged by the NLRB with "unlawful inducement . . . [ and ] discouragement of those in the hiring hall from accepting employment (at Cape Canaveral—V. R.)."

It is true that now Mr. Palmer's local—which has its headquarters in Daytona Beach—has rolled up a terrific work record in the past eight months. It was last summer that the strikes stopped. It was after reports in this column and after the Senate hearings that the President set up the Missile Sites Labor Commission. Since then there have been only four stoppages at the Cape. Virtually a perfect record. But there would not have been any Commission if there had been no criticism.

BUT THE RECORD is not yet finished. Elsewhere there have been hundreds of missile base strikes. Last January was the worst month of the last eight. February now appears to be worse than January. Most of the walkouts are jurisdictional disputes.

Look at the most recent stoppage. It broke out at the Larson Air Force (Titan) Base at Moses Lake, Washington. The base there is phasing out from the first to the second operation. The first is the "brick and mortar stage." That is the construction period. Then comes the installation of the Titan missile itself. Between phases, water seeps into the underground silos. During phase one the construction workers man the pumps. During phase two, the installing union, the Machinists in this case, handle the pumps. So the 500 construction workers hit the bricks there on February 15. They stayed out until the 19th because *they* wanted to pump out the water.

There have been at least 68 important Electrical Brotherhood strikes on missile and space bases from July, 1960, to October, 1961. This does not include the month of May, 1961, for which there are no figures. Fully half of these strikes were the result of battles with other unions for jurisdiction. Should this go unreported? Should the Senate overlook them?

Should the US defense effort cost a penny more or be delayed a minute longer because ironworkers battle millwrights over the right to weld guard rails—as they did recently?

Of course not. Of course, there are skilled workers who put in a terrific day. Of course, without their technical know-how there would be no space race. But their skills do not make of them an elite.

And let's remember, it was Glenn who rode the fireball.

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# Heartless Minority?

*By Congressman Richard L. Roudebush (R.-Ind.)*

PRESIDENT KENNEDY knows full well that he can't sell his paternalistic program to his own party which now controls the House of Representatives and the Senate.

If his own party won't buy it, how can he expect the American people and the rest of Congress to buy it?

The truth of the matter is that he knows he cannot sell it.

Kennedy-stamped legislation means more spending, bigger Federal bureaucracy and further disruption of the free enterprise system. The people and Congress know this and the President knows they know it.

**So what is he after? Simply this. Serve up numerous tempting dishes designed to offer something for everyone with little or no expectancy of passage. Then after they are discarded by Congress, set up a clamor that the heartless minority in Congress has no regard for the people.**

The President's strategy became obvious when he blamed the minority members of the House Rules Committee for killing his bid to create the Department of Urban Affairs and Housing.

Taking advantage of a nationally broadcast press conference, the President attacked the minority members of the Rules Committee.

He forgot to mention that four members of his own party who are also members of the Rules Committee voted to choke off his plans for creating a huge new bureaucracy to meddle, manipulate and control the affairs of our cities.

Had the members of the President's own party voted in his behalf on this legislation, the bill would have passed by the vote of 10 to 5 instead of being defeated 9 to 6.

And, this is the very same committee that the President insisted on "stacking" with a lopsided majority from his own party in his first move after taking office last year.

Evidently the chief support for Kennedy socialism lies with the intellectual clique surrounding him at the White House; certainly not with the American people or Congress.

## This Matter of Rights

**In the struggle for the rights of all men —which alone will save their skins and their souls—those who belong to minorities must fight first of all for the rights of other minorities than their own; next for the rights of all men; and last, if at all, for their own.**

*—Milton Mayer, from These Few*

## *Tax-Free Polygamy*

*From the Detroit News*

A current book on Africa goes into the economy of the various new nations there and includes this bit of information on Swaziland:

"Taxation for Africans is $4.90 a year for each man who is unmarried or who, if married, has limited himself to one wife. For each additional wife, states the tax table solemnly, there is an additional tax of $4.20 up to a ceiling of $12.60. Wives after that come tax free."

A joint return in Swaziland means the whole joint.

# The High Cost of Washup

*From the Cleveland Plain Dealer*

It is estimated that Studebaker-Packard Corporation in South Bend, Indiana, would have produced automobiles in January with a retail value of $21 million. It produced none. After a 40-day strike at the plant, the 6,500 United Auto Workers of that local have gone back to work.

They are poorer in the pocketbook by several million dollars of lost wages which can't be reclaimed. The company has lost pace in the highly-competitive compact car field. And all over five minutes of "washup time."

That's what stalled negotiations. The company wanted the 15-minute daily washup period cut to five minutes to meet competitive working practices. The union would consent only to a five-minute cut, leaving a ten-minute washup period. On this item, the parties were adamant. The union won its point.

It has not been explained why only 2,577 of the UAW members bothered to vote on the new contract. It would be a tragedy to them, as well as to the other 3,923, if some day they were to discover they'd washed themselves right out of their livelihoods.

## *'A March to End All Marches'*

*From the Weekly Labor Forecast and Review*

A "march to end all marches" was staged recently by employes of a ballroom in London, England.

It took place through the West End of the city, where 18 employes carried banners saying, "We get top wages" and "We are happy in our work." Allen Ferris, 32-year-old manager of the ballroom and leader of the march, explained: "We are sick of people calling for strikes and moaning all the time. Some people are happy."

This might not be a bad idea over here. Few people enjoy strikes, and there might not be so many if they'd let the rest of the world know this.



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# The Liberals' 'Hate' Campaign

*By CLIFFORD WARD in the Fort Wayne [Ind.] News-Sentinel*

The emotional intensity of the hate campaign which is being conducted against the conservatives by the ultra-liberals is almost frightening to behold. And one of the worst features is the all-effort being made to trap unsuspecting conservatives into saying and doing things that can be construed as anti-race, anti-color or anti-creed.

It is almost as ruthlessly cold-blooded as if someone incited someone to murder just for the purpose of seeing him hanged. The effort should make all conservatives determine that they must not under any circumstances allow themselves to be provoked into doing or saying anything that will play into the hands of the hate-inciters.

The ultra-liberals are apparently genuinely alarmed at the grass-roots swell of the conservative movement up and down the United States which is no more a crackpot movement than the Democratic party or the Republican party is a crackpot movement.

To be sure, there are crackpots in the conservative movement, as there are crackpots in any movement of any kind. But this does not warrant any stopping of the movement itself and I don't think it will.

**Trying to make Senator Barry Goldwater, a distinguished American soldier, statesman and national leader, appear to be a crackpot, as many of the ultra-conservatives are trying to do, by inferring his association with true extremists, is an obscenity that even ultra-liberals should be ashamed of.**

## *I'm Disappointed In You, Abe--*

By Reg Manning — Arizona Republic Staff Artist

"YOU CANNOT STRENGTHEN THE WEAK BY WEAKENING THE STRONG; YOU CANNOT HELP THE WAGE EARNER BY PULLING DOWN THE WAGE PAYER; YOU CANNOT FURTHER THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN BY ENCOURAGING CLASS HATRED; YOU CANNOT HELP THE POOR BY DISCOURAGING THE RICH; YOU CANNOT BUILD CHARACTER AND COURAGE BY TAKING AWAY MAN'S INITIATIVE AND INDEPENDENCE."
A. LINCOLN
YOU TALK JUST LIKE TODAY'S CONSERVATIVES!
WELFARE STATERS
REG MANNING
McNaught Syndicate, Inc.

Even the most ingenious hate manufacturer would have a hard time making it appear that Goldwater is anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic or anti-Negro. As almost everyone knows, Mr. Goldwater on one side of his family is of Jewish lineage. He is about as much an extremist as Herbert Hoover who, himself, was on the receiving end of a gross insult from the liberals the other day. The insult to Mr. Hoover was by an editorialist who implied that Hoover is pro-Katanga because he has been a mining engineer all his life and Katanga is the center of African mining interests—interests, incidentally, which helped us put our atomic bombs together. . . .

Ex-Senator Herbert Lehman of New York in a TV talk declared that the conservative movement up and down the country is a worse threat than Communism. How absurd can anyone get? He was, of course, joined in this line by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt. It is not true, as he charged, that the conservatives are against everyting. They are positively for a strong national defense. They are positively for proper economy in Government. They are positively for freedom of people, individually and collectively. They would like to see a reaffirmation of those American principles which have made this the greatest country in the world. They are against throwing out all of the knowledge which comes to us from the past and which constitutes experience. The all-out campaign against anti-Communist conservatives is one "hate" campaign that is not going to succeed.

## *Federal 'Retraining' Flop*

*By FULTON LEWIS, JR.*

Administration officials are red faced over the failure of a "pilot program" for its much-touted job retraining program.

Congress last year appropriated $15,000 for the program launched in Huntington, West Virginia, with national publicity. Only 640 of 8,000 jobless there signed up for the program, and less than one-third of those were certified as capable of learning new skills.

Administration publicity had promised to train 350 unemployed workers in new skills by early summer. The project, set up to show Congress the necessity for a national program, has failed.

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Every thoughtful American must realize the importance of checking at its beginning any tendency in public or private station to regard frugality and economy as virtues which we may safely outgrow. The toleration of this idea results in the waste of the people's money by their chosen servants and encourages prodigality and extravagance in the home life of our countrymen.

*—Grover Cleveland, 1893*



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*The Year: 1936*

# Al Smith Took a Walk

*From the San Diego Union*

A QUARTER-CENTURY and more has passed since Governor Alfred E. Smith took his famous walk out of the Democratic party—but his speech in 1936 sounds today as if it could be given tomorrow.

> " . . . Let me give this solemn warning," Governor Smith said on a January night in Washington. "There can be only one Capitol, Washington or Moscow!
>
> "There can be only one atmosphere of government, the clear, pure fresh air of free America, or the foul breath of Communistic Russia.
>
> "There can be only one flag, the Stars and Stripes, or the Red Flag of the Godless Union of the Soviet.
>
> "There can be only one National Anthem: The Star-Spangled Banner or the Internationale.
>
> "There can be only one victor . . . "

The famed speech—which led many to believe Smith, the beloved Happy Warrior of New York's East Side, would lead a third party in the 1936 Presidential election—was delivered before the American Liberty League. Smith asked:

*SMITH*

"What happens to the disciples of Jefferson and Jackson and Cleveland . . . ? There is only one thing we can do. We can either take on the mantle of hypocrisy or we can take a walk, and we will probably do the latter."

And take a walk Al Smith did. He went to Europe in the summer of 1936 and thus did not support FDR's candidacy. In 1940 he supported Wendell Willkie.

Smith, the 1928 Democratic party candidate for President, had been known as an opponent to President Roosevelt, who had followed him as Governor of New York. But his life-long party affiliation had prevented an open break. But, he told friends, the steady movement of the country toward the Left was too great not to be opposed now.

"I was born in the Democratic party and expect to die in it," he explained in his speech. "But I can call upon innumerable witnesses to testify to the fact that during my whole public life I put patriotism above partisanship."

Smith, who knew the results of prejudice firsthand from his experience in the 1928 Presidential election in which his religion was a prime issue, saw several dangers in the first years of the FDR tenure in the White House.

> "What are these dangers I see," he asked. "The first is the arraignment of class against class . . .
>
> "The next thing that I view as being dangerous to our national well-being is government bureaucracy instead of what we have been taught to look for, government by law . . .
>
> "The next thing that is apparent to me is the vast building up of new bureaus of government . . ."

Smith, a strict advocate of constitutional government, pointed out that the writers of the Constitution had seen the need for a balance of power in government:

"What we want, and what we insist on, and what we are going to have," he explained, "is the absolute preservation of this balance of power which is the keystone, the arch upon which the whole theory of democratic government has got to rest.

"When you rattle that, you rattle the whole structure."

In concluding, Smith repeated his lifelong party advocacy and suggested a group of remedies:

"Now, suggestions, and I make these as a Democrat anxious for the success of my party, and I make them in good faith.

"No. 1: I suggest to the members of my party on Capitol Hill here in Washington that they take their minds off the Tuesday that follows the first Monday in November. Just take their minds off it to the end that you may do the right thing and not the expedient thing.

"Next, I suggest to them that they dig up the 1932 platform from the grave that they buried it in, read it over, and study it, breathe life into it, and follow it in legislative and executive action, to the end that they make good their promises to the American people when they put forth that platform and the candidate that stood upon it 100 per cent. In short, make good!

"Next, I would suggest that they stop compromising with the fundamental principles laid down by Jackson and Jefferson and Cleveland.

"Fourth: Stop attempting to alter the form and structure of our government without recourse to the people themselves as provided in their own Constitution. This country belongs to the people, and it doesn't belong to any administration.

"Next, I suggest that they read their oath of office to support the Constitution of the United States. And I ask them to remember that they took that oath with their hands on the Holy Bible, thereby calling upon God Almighty Himself to witness their solemn promise. It is bad enough to disappoint us.

"Sixth: I suggest that from this moment they resolve to make the Constitution the Civil Bible of the United States, and pay it the same civil respect and reverence that they would religiously pay the Holy Scriptures, and I ask them to read from the Holy Scripture the Parable of the Prodigal Son and to follow His example."



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# Louisville's Telephone Alert

ZACK LOGAN of Louisville, Kentucky, has solved the problem of conservatives who want to help spread the message of conservatism at the local level but just don't know how to go about it.

ZACK LOGAN

Logan decided some months ago that conservative radio and television programs were not getting the audience they deserved in Louisville and the surrounding area. So he devised a plan whereby 2,500 dedicated conservatives can, in a three-day period, notify all residents who have telephones in a city of almost 400,000 people!

To do this, Logan took the Louisville telephone directory and counted the number of columns (2,080). He then enlisted 26 committee men, who in turn appointed ten relay men each to serve under them. Each relay man (260 in all) has eight telephone "alerters" serving under him. Each of the 2,080 telephone "alerters" is assigned a given column in the telephone directory.

If, for example, Senator John G. Tower (R.-Texas) is to be on television at a given time, the alert system swings into operation three days in advance.

The committee men are notified and given the essential details—time, date, channel number and program subject. They in turn telephone their relay men, who then notify the eight column callers serving under them.

During the next three days, Louisville residents answering their telephones will be told: "Be sure to see Senator John Tower, Sunday afternoon, February 4, 5 P. M., Channel 3, speaking on medical aid to the aged under social security. That is, Senator John Tower, Channel 3, 5 P. M., this Sunday, medical aid to the aged."

In less than two months Logan and his rapidly-growing and enthusiastic group have commitments for approximately 1,100 columns of the directory—more than half. It is expected that this bipartisan conservative movement will, within the next few weeks, complete the job.

Logan is one of the owners of the Logan Company, manufacturers of conveyors, builder's iron and bedding. Persons desiring more information about Louisville's "Telephone Alert" can get it by writing to him—Zack Logan, the Logan Company, Louisville 6, Kentucky.

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# Curious Double Standard

*From the Seattle Post-Intelligencer*

THE POST-INTELLIGENCER has received several letters deploring the refusal of the University of Washington to allow Gus Hall, the Communist, to make a speech on the campus. These letters allege that Mr. Hall's constitutional right of freedom of speech was compromised by the University's action.

Only a handful of letters in this vein were received and in themselves they are unimportant.

But much more disturbing is the fact that the same invalid issue of freedom of speech has been raised by a few people in the community who should know better and who pretend to some degree of leadership in their respective fields. These are some students at the University, a few faculty members and clergymen and others who wear their "liberalism" on their sleeve and never tire of expounding it to anyone who will listen.

The *Post-Intelligencer* would be more impressed by their sensitive regard for Mr. Hall's constitutional rights if we could believe that the same zeal would be shown by these same people for the "rights" of, say, a neo-Nazi or an advocate of white supremacy who might seek permission to make a public address on the campus.

**It is not difficult to imagine the outraged cries from the professed liberals of the town and campus if such a proposal were made. Not only would the University administration be importuned to reject such an iniquity out of hand but the importuning would be accompanied by picketing and "demonstrations" and all the other approved modes of the day for substituting mass hysteria for calm and adult reason.**

Wherein lies the difference?

IN THE VIEW of most Americans, and that certainly includes the *Post-Intelligencer*, Nazism, white supremism and communism are all different faces of the same spurious coin of totalitarian hatred and tyranny.

This curious double standard of a certain type of professed "liberalism" continually baffles us.

Freedom of speech, apparently, is for left-leaners only. No others need apply.

In this particular case, the issue of freedom of speech is purely counterfeit. Mr. Hall was merely denied the privilege of using the tax-supported facilities of the University as a platform for expounding his alien doctrines. There was nothing to prevent him from seeking a hall off the campus (which he did) nor to prevent anyone from going to hear him who wished to do so.

**Nor is it irrelevant to note that this same Gus Hall served several years in a Federal penitentiary for advocating the overthrow of our government by force and violence and presently is in open defiance of the Supreme Court of the United States.**

The University administration, as custodian of the property of the people of Washington, has taken the proper course in denying use of that property as a sounding board by avowed enemies of the American constitutional government and the American way of life of whatever stripe or "ism."

Let them hire a hall for their doctrine of hate.


## The 'Blackjack' in the Farm Program

"The proposed farm program could set the farm economy of America back a hundred years," concludes Congressman Henry C. Schadeberg (R.-Wisc.), the guest in the ninth of the 1962 series of HUMAN EVENTS Congressional Interviews. Mr. Schadeberg points out the "blackjack" aspect of the program, which would "make the farmer a tenant of the government on his own land," and "make a Federal utility of the dairy industry." The influences of this program on the farm economy and on the entire nation will be of vital interest to every citizen, and this interview tells of those influences in a way every citizen should hear.

SCHADEBERG

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